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ABSTRACT

Studying the lexical borrowing of the Japanese community living in Hawaii inspires several hypotheses in the field of sociolinguistics. The use of borrowed words is a linguistic device to create a new Japanese dialect--Hawaiian Japanese. The borrowed words reflect the process and degree of social and psychological adjustment to the new cultural environment. Words of conjunctive and disjunctive concepts are individually borrowed to meet various lexical needs; words of relational concepts are borrowed as conceptual systems. From the sociolinguistic point of view, the most important words in a language are those related to kinship relations, social relations, time, and quantity. Further investigation of lexical borrowings in other geographical areas would prove interesting. The study of lexical borrowing is worthwhile for the field of foreign language teaching. (VM)

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THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SIGNIFICANCE OF BORROWED WORDS IN THE JAPANESE SPOKEN IN HAWAII

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In 1968 the Japanese community of Hawaii celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of Japanese immigration to Hawaii. Between 1868 when the immigration began and 1924 when it was prohibited by the U.S. Government, about 150,000 Japanese immigrated to Hawaii.[1] The U.S. Government relaxed its immigration law after World War II, and it is said that about 15,000 Japanese moved to Hawaii between 1946 and 1968, many of whom were so-called war-brides. Today these pre-war and post-war immigrants and their offspring consitute roughly a third of the population of the State of Hawaii, that is, about 230,000.

Although most of the Japanese population are nisei, sansei and yonsei (second, third, and fourth generations), the Japanese language is still spoken in Hawaii. This is evidenced by the existence of two full-time and three part-time Japanese language radio stations, one televisior station, and two daily newspapers[2] on the island of Oahu alone. This situation is likely to last for many more years and the use of the Japanese language in Hawaii will continue to present interesting topics for not only linguistic but also psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic studies.

This is a sociolinguistic essay on an interesting phenomenon that this writer has observed about the Japanese language spoken in Hawaii--

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the use of borrowed words. In this paper, for the sake of convenience, the Japanese spoken in Hawaii will be referred to as Hawaiian Japanese and the people of Japanese ancestry as nikkeijin.

When a visitor from Japan to Hawaii listens to Hawaiian Japanese, in general he experiences little difficulty in comprehending it, although he immediately notices that it is somewhat different from standard Japanese. The writer's study of Hawaiian Japanese began with the questions of (1) what makes Hawaiian Japanese different from standard Japanese and (2) what makes Hawaiian Japanese difficult at times for a Japanese visitor to understand. A commonly given answer to the first question is that the intonation patterns of Hawaiian Japanese are those of the Chugoku dialect of Japanese. However, beyond this obvious intonation difference, there is a lexical factor which makes Hawaiian Japanese different from standard Japanese. That factor is the abundant use of borrowed English words. And this seems to be the answer to the second question also. When a nikkeijin speaks to a Japanese visitor, he does not use as many borrowed words as when he converses with another nikkeijin. A visitor finds conversation between two nikkeijin often difficult to understand, because between them there is little constraint on the use of borrowed words. This aspect--the use of borrowed words by an immigrant group in a new culture--has rarely been studied from the sociolinguistic point of view. Before this aspect is elaborated on, the background of the nikkeijin will be briefly described.

The Japanese-speaking nikkeijin may be categorized into three groups: (1) the pre-war immigrants, (2) their children, i.e., the

nisei, and (3) the post-war immigrants. The pre-war immigrant group numbers only about 20,000 and most of them are now well over the age of sixty-five. According to the census taken by the Japanese Consulate in Honolulu in 1960, about 24% of this group came from Hiroshima, 20% from Yamaguchi, 15% from Okinawa, 14% from Kumamoto, and 27% from the rest of Japan. These proportions were roughly the same in 1924, the last year of pre-war immigration. Since close to a half of the pre-war immigrants came from Hiroshima and Yamaguchi, two neighboring prefectures, and since they came to Hawaii earlier than the immigrants from the other prefectures, it is understandable that their speech, the Chugoku dialect, became a sort of standard Japanese in Hawaii. Those immigrants from such prefectures as Okinawa, Kumamoto, and Fukushima, who spoke radically different dialects, came to learn and speak the Chugoku dialect after they arrived in Hawaii. This dialect is characterized by the frequent use of the interjectional particle noo and the conjunctive particle ken and the omission of the nominalizing particle to. The following is an example of the Japanese spoken by the pre-war immigrants:[3]

/kyoowanoo↗ atamaga itaikeNnoo↗ sigoto yasumoo omou/

(Because I have a headache, I don't think I will go to work today.)

In standard Japanese the above sentence would be:

/kyoowa atamaga itaikara sigotoo yasumooto omou↘/

The number of the pre-war immigrants is decreasing rapidly, but their speech has been inherited by their children, the nisei.

The number of the nisei is estimated to be around 80,000. Many of them are in the age range of forty to sixty. The nisei learned Japanese

from their parents as their first language and, in many cases, they learned English only when they started going to school (Miyamoto, 1937). As children, they went to public schools in the morning and private Japanese language schools in the afternoon. Since their parents emphasized that Hawaii was their temporary home and they were to return to Japan eventually, a significant number of parents sent their nisei sons and daughters to Japan for secondary and college education. This practice continued until 1941 when the war between Japan and the United States broke out. It is said that in that year 2,000 nisei from Hawaii were studying in Japan. Naturally enough, those nisei who have studied in Japan tend to speak better Japanese than English, while those who have studied in American colleges find themselves more at ease with English than with Japanese. A common complaint among those who did not receive higher education either in the United States or in Japan is that both their English and Japanese are not satisfactory. In general, the nisei speak informal Japanese and seem unable to use the formal or honorific style. Their sentences are often short and elliptic. The intonation pattern of the nisei's Japanese shows a clear influence of that of American English. The following are some examples of their Japanese:

/mii wakaranai/ (I don't know.)

/kore oisiinoo/ (Isn't this delicious?)

/nekisu wiiku isogasii/ (I am busy next week.)

It was observed before World War II that among themselves the nisei carried on about half of their conversation in Japanese even in

public schools (Smith, 1939; Smith and Kasdon, 1961). It looked as if the sansei, too, would learn Japanese and become bilingual. However, when the war broke out, things Japanese became things of the enemy and a "Speak American" campaign was started in Hawaii (Kimura, 1956). The issei now spoke Japanese in whispers, while the nisei, who began to regard themselves as loyal Americans, spoke English as much as possible and stopped encouraging their children, the sansei, to learn Japanese. As soon as the war broke out, the Japanese language schools were shut down by the U.S. Government and the school administrators were interned. These schools were reopened several years after the war, but they have never regained the prestige and influence they had enjoyed in the Japanese communities before the war. In 1939, just before the war, there were 194 Japanese language schools in Hawaii and 38,515 pupils were enrolled in them. Today the number of schools is only 82 and the number of pupils only 9,700, and these numbers are on the decrease.[4] Due to such influences of the war as these, today it is rare to find a sansei or yonsei who speaks Japanese.

The third group of Japanese-speaking nikkeijin consists of about 15,000 post-war immigrants.[5] They tended to be much more educated than the pre-war immigrants and brought with them standard Japanese to Hawaii. Most of the announcers and reporters for the Japanese language radio and television stations and newspapers come from this group.

Although there are these three different sub-groups in the Japanese-speaking population each speaking a different form of Japanese from the others in terms of intonation and, to some extent, lexicon, there is one

aspect which is common to their speech and which characterizes it as Hawaiian Japanese. That is the use of words borrowed mostly from English, the language of the country where they reside, and to some extent from the languages of the other ethnic groups in Hawaii.

Lexical borrowing is a common phenomenon when one language comes into contact with another. This is often explained in terms of lexical needs and innovations. Weinreich (1968) gave several possible reasons for such borrowing, one of which is sociolinguistic and relevant here. According to him, a person is likely to use words borrowed from a prestigious language "as a means of displaying the social status which its knowledge symbolizes." The unnecessary and heavy use of borrowed English words by immigrants to America, for instance, is meant to show their advanced state of acculturation and, therefore, their social status (see also Rayfield, 1970). However, as Weinreich himself pointed out, there is no explanation to account for the fact that certain particular words are easily and unnecessarily borrowed while certain other particular words are not, even though they are all equal in terms of frequency of use and lexical usefulness. For example, in Hawaiian Japanese words like sister and yesterday are borrowed from English but words like fruit and rain are not. It seems that foreign words are not borrowed randomly. In addition to lexical and prestige motives, there would seem to be other motives and principles behind lexical borrowing. So far very little research has been done on this aspect. Hawaiian Japanese provides sufficient data for the purpose of such research.

Before discussing the sociolinguistic significance of the use of

borrowed words in Hawaiian Japanese, a few sample borrowed English words are given below:

Hawaiian Japanese	English
/dakutaa/	doctor
/eegu/	egg
/gyooru/	girl
/hazubeN/	husband
/paNsu/	pants
/samutaimu/	sometimes
/soobisu/	service
/teketu/	ticket
/toozude/	Thursday

Because empirical validation is needed for whatever significance that may be mentioned regarding the borrowing of such words as these, this writer's statements will be made in terms of four hypotheses.

The first hypothesis is that the use of borrowed words among the nikkeijin is a linguistic device to create a new Japanese dialect--Hawaiian Japanese. A corollary is that the use of borrowed words contributes to the solidarity of the nikkeijin. When the pre-war immigrants came to Hawaii from various dialect areas of Japan, there must have risen a need for a common speech. Regarding such a need, Hertzler (1965, p. 382) said:

> "Whenever social circumstances lead to the formation of a distinct group within the whole body of society, or of distinct common characteristics and functions for a category of the population, the people involved will tend to, or deliberately devise, speech forms of their own."

The dialect of the dominant majority--the Chugoku dialect--became the common speech among the pre-war immigrants in the earlier period as mentioned before. However, that speech was not sufficient for its speakers to identify themselves as Japanese immigrants in Hawaii as time

went on. Furthermore, it was not easy for the non-native speakers of the Chugoku dialect to speak that dialect like its native speakers, although it was certainly much easier than learning and adopting English as a common speech. The use of borrowed words alleviated this kind of language handicap by making the dialectal differences relatively insignificant and enabled the nikkeijin to identify themselves as Japanese immigrants or people of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii.

There is a tendency among the nikkeijin to use such terms as japan men (Japanese man), japan boi (Japanese boy), and japan gyoru (Japanese girl) to identify visiting Japanese and new Japanese immigrants. Such an identity is usually made on the basis of one's speech. If one speaks Hawaiian Japanese which is characterized by the frequent use of borrowed words, one is accepted as a roko (local). For this reason, a new immigrant is eager to learn and to use the borrowed words that the roko use. In fact, like the American immigrants that Weinreich (1968) pointed out, he is so eager that he tends to overuse them or use words which are not commonly borrowed by the roko. Since Hawaiian Japanese cultivates an in-group feeling among the nikkeijin, it is used mostly among the roko. When a roko speaks to a japan men, he tends not to use borrowed words. This avoidance may be due to the awareness of the roko that the japan men may not understand him. Whatever the reason may be, the use of borrowed words by the roko is a conscious language behavior and they seem to be aware of the variables involved in this behavior. The situation is analogous to that where many in Hawaii speak creolized English among themselves but try to speak ordinary English to visitors from the other States. How local or familiar a person is judged to be by the nikkeijin

on the basis of his use of borrowed words presents an interesting topic for research in an attempt to validate the hypothesis mentioned above.

The second hypothesis is that the borrowed words used by the nikkeijin reflect the process and the degree of their social and psychological adjustment to the new cultural environment. Since borrowed words are linguistic records of interaction between different cultures, an analysis of the borrowed words in Hawaiian Japanese should indicate the nature and extent of not only the nikkeijin's acculturation in Hawaii but also something about the nature of Japanese culture. For example, many American kinship terms are borrowed, even though there are Japanese equivalents for most of them. This indicates the nikkeijin's probable adoption of the American kinship system. On the other hand, the author's preliminary study shows that very few words related to government have been borrowed by the nikkeijin despite the fact that the American political system was very much different from the Japanese system prior to the end of the second world war. Not even the word democracy is borrowed and its Japanese translation is not used either. This seems to reflect the fact that the Japanese immigrants had long been barred from acquiring American citizenship and from participating in government.

In order to validate the second hypothesis, as complete a list of borrowed words as possible must be compiled. The chronology of the borrowed words used in Hawaiian Japanese can be traced to some extent in the writings by nikkeijin and also in the back issues of the Japanese language newspapers published in Hawaii. Chronological, etymological, and categorial analyses of these words may be "correlated" to the history of Japanese immigrants in Hawaii.

The third hypothesis is that words of so-called conjunctive concepts and disjunctive concepts are individually borrowed to meet various lexical needs, whereas words of relational concepts are borrowed as conceptual systems. Conjunctive concepts are usually concrete like table and violin which have a definite set of simultaneously present attributes; disjunctive concepts are often abstract like happy and beauty for which there is no definite set of attributes; relational concepts are those that exist only in relation to other concepts, such as father, son, cousin, east, and west (Bruner, Goodnow, and Austin, 1956). This hypothesis can explain to a great extent why certain words are seemingly unnecessarily borrowed. An initial analysis of such borrowed words shows that if a word belonging to a system of relational concepts is borrowed for some lexical reason such as there being no exact equivalent in Japanese, the other words belonging to the same system are also borrowed regardless of whether there are Japanese equivalents or not.

A kinship system is a good example. It is not clear as yet which of the American kinship terms was borrowed first by the nikkeijin. It may have been uncle for which there is no exact equivalent in Japanese. The Japanese term, ojisan, refers not only to brothers of the ego's parents but also to any other male adults. In Hawaiian Japanese these two categories are clearly distinguished by the use of the borrowed English words, anku (uncle) and misuta (mister) or men (man). The following is a list of borrowed words commonly used in naming kinship relations in Hawaiian Japanese:

Hawaiian Japanese	English
/dedi/	daddy
/papaa/	papa
/mami/	mommy
/mamaa/	mama
/boi/	son
/gyooru/	daughter
/burada/	brother
/sisuta/	sister
/aNku/	uncle
/aNti/	aunty
/kazuN/	cousin

The traditional Japanese terms, niisan (elder brother), otooto (younger brother), neesan (elder sister), and imooto (younger sister) are rarely used. However, such borrowed terms as buradainro (brother-in-law) and sisutainro (sister-in-law) are frequently used. In referring to their children parents often use terms like nanba wan boi (number one boy= eldest son) and nanba tu gyooru (number two girl=second daughter). These cases indicate that the Japanese kinship terms are no longer used in Hawaiian Japanese.

Pronouns and forms of address are also borrowed but they are very much Japanized. The motive for borrowing such words must have been to avoid the use of the many Japanese pronouns and forms of address that are deeply associated with social status. The following are examples of the Japanized English pronouns and forms of address:

Hawaiian Japanese	English
/miiwa/	I
/miino/	my
/miini/	me
/miirawa/	we
/yuuwa/	you
/himuwa/	he
/misuta/	mister or husband
/misesu/	lady or wife
/hazubeN/	husband

Both misuta and misesu are often used not as titles but as common nouns in the way shown below:

/nakamurano misutaga kita/

(The mister of Nakamura came. = Mr. Nakamura came.)

/naze misesuwa konakaqta/

(Why didn't Mrs. come? = Why didn't the wife come?)

/yuuno misesuwa wakainoo/

(Your Mrs. is young. = Your wife is young, isn't she?)

Other borrowed words of relational concepts in Hawaiian Japanese pertain to time and quantity. The borrowing of words like those listed below is as conspicuous as that of kinship terms and pronouns.

Hawaiian Japanese	English
/rasu iya/	last year
/nekisu iya/	next year
/waN maNsu/	one month
/tu awa/	two hours
/maNde/	Monday
/tuu reeto/	too late
/baNbai/	by-and-by
/samutaimu/	sometimes
/ooru taimu/	all the time
/roN taimu/	long time
/sebeN taimu/	seven times
/waN/	one
/toori/	thirty
/samu/	some
/biigu/	big
/sumooru/	small
/moa/	more
/too maqti/	too much

Very few English prepositions are borrowed, although they are related to the expression of time and spatial concepts. At present, there is no explanation to account for this fact except the phenomenoligical statement that, unlike content words, function words are rarely borrowed by one

language from another. Those few that are used in Hawaiian Japanese, such as bihoo (before), insai (inside), and ausai (outside), are always nominalized by adding a postpositional particle to them.[6] In Hawaiian pidgin English, too, which is spoken mostly by Oriental immigrants, prepositions are rarely used.

It seems that English prepositions are not borrowed in Hawaiian Japanese because they are incompatible with, and insufficient to replace, Japanese postpositions. According to modern grammar (e.g., Fillmore, 1968), prepositions and postpositions function as case-markers. Since the Japanese language suffixes postpositions to nouns as case-markers, the borrowing of English prepositions as prepositions is not compatible in terms of word order. Their use as postpositions in place of Japanese postpositions is not sufficient, because there are no prepositions in English for marking such traditional cases as subjective and objective. Japanese postpositions are used to indicate such cases, too. It may be concluded that only grammatically compatible words are borrowed.

As long as they are grammatically compatible, even function words may be borrowed. One proof to support this argument is that conjunctions like and, but, and because are often borrowed by the nisei in their Hawaiian Japanese.[7] These conjunctions can be used in accordance with the word order prescribed by Japanese grammar for their Japanese equivalents. The reason neither prepostions nor postpositions are used in Hawaiian pidgin English seems to be that this speech is dependent on word order for indicating cases.

The fourth hypothesis is derived from the three mentioned above. This is that from the sociolinguistic point of view the most important words

in a language are those related to kinship relations, social relations, time, and quantity. This implies that, in order to acculturate an immigrant in a new culture, it is minimally sufficient to familiarize him with such words in the language of that culture. The use of these words even as borrowed words in his native language may be sufficient to give him the feeling that he is now a member of not only his immigrant community but also the whole body of society. The hypothesis has an important implication for the teaching of a foreign language, too. These words may be the ones that should be taught first and well in an introductory foreign language course. It may turn out that these words are also the easiest to learn because of sociolinguistic needs.

This has been a discussion of the sociolinguistic significance of the use of borrowed words in Hawaiian Japanese. The four hypotheses mentioned in this paper may be tested in various ways. One interesting way will be to compare the borrowed words used in Hawaiian Japanese with those in the languages of other immigrant groups in Hawaii and also with those in the Japanese spoken by Japanese immigrants in California, New York, Argentine, Brazil, Peru, and other places. This kind of comparison is feasible, though it requires a great amount of time, and it can test the universality of the hypotheses.

Footnotes

[1]The statistical information in this paper comes from the following: Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development; Horman (1956); Schmitt (1968); United Japanese Society of Hawaii (1964).

[2]The number of subscriptions for each is reported to be about 12,000.

[3]See Tsushima (1969, pp. 304-305) for other examples.

[4]See the Nov. 19 and Dec. 15 issues of The Hawaii Hochi (1969) for the state of the Japanese language schools in Hawaii.

[5]No one seems to have the correct figure. The number quoted here comes from Hawaii Times (1968, p. 40).

[6]The last two are used also as nominals in English, too.

[7]Rayfield's study (1970) of the borrowing of English function words in American Yiddish also gives support to this argument. Because Yiddish is a prepositional language, English prepositions are frequently borrowed in American Yiddish. Weinreich (1968) also reported the same phenomenon, but he discussed it in terms of lexical interference in bilinguals.

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